

1-1-1962

A study of two contrasting types of American Negro leadership: Booker T. Washington and William E.B. DuBois

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A STUDY OF TWO CONTRASTING TYPES OF AMERICAN
NEGRO LEADERSHIP: BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
AND WILLIAM E. B. DUBOIS

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Sociology
Municipal University of Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
John Alvin Martin, Jr.

January 1962

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CHAPTER I

THE STUDY AND ITS SCOPE

The recognized history of the Negro in North America began with the importation of twenty Africans to Jamestown, Virginia in 1619. During the next 244 years the Negro traveled a long arduous road which led from involuntary servitude to slavery to freedom.¹ Since the close of the American Civil War the Negro's striving has been toward the attainment of economic and social equality within the framework of American Democracy.

This study focuses attention on two Negro leaders who charted courses for the achievement of racial equality in the United States.

I. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Following the period of Civil War Reconstruction the New South became increasingly oppressive in its attitude toward the Negro. By the end of the nineteenth century the region was beginning to pass discriminatory laws which tended to solidify the economic, political, and social inferiority of the former slaves. In the North the custom was also for Negroes to be treated as a separate and inferior group. It

¹ John H. Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), p. 70.

was under these social conditions that Negroes became motivated to uncover solutions to the problem of racial inequality in the United States.

Two individuals who emerged as important leaders in the Negro's struggle for racial equality were Booker T. Washington and William E.B. DuBois. It is the purpose of the present study to classify and appraise the types of American Negro leadership which Washington and DuBois represented from approximately 1895 to 1920.

II. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The existing sociological literature on American race relations is indeed voluminous. It literally abounds with studies on prejudice, discrimination, and the Negro's struggle for equality of opportunity. But, with the notable exception of Rudwick's study of DuBois,² there is a surprising paucity of extended research on the kinds of leadership which have guided the North American Negro's progress toward equality of opportunity. And this absence alone makes the present study sociologically significant.

It should be noted, however, that the fact that neither subject, nor any of their respective contemporaries

² Elliott M. Rudwick, W.E.B. DuBois: A Study in Minority Group Leadership, (Phila: Univ. of Penn. Press, 1960).

could be interviewed is a limitation of the present undertaking. Still the present task is significant, because as Mannheim so cogently indicates:

It has become clear that the principal propositions of the social sciences are neither mechanistically external nor formal, nor do they represent purely quantitative correlations but rather situational diagnoses in which we use, by and large, the same concrete concepts and thought-models which were created for activistic purposes in real life.

This study is also significant because of the possibility that the material uncovered may stimulate the development of hypotheses regarding the militant Negro-White protest leadership which dramatically occupies the American race relations scene today.

III. METHOD OF PROCEDURE

The problem of classifying and appraising the types of American Negro leadership which Booker T. Washington and William E.B. DuBois represented was approached through library research.

The procedural point of departure for this analysis was an examination of the leadership concept in the sociological and social psychological literature. Next, the

³
Karl Mannheim, "Ideological Basis of Social Change," Sociological Theory, Edgar F. Borgatta and Henry J. Meyer, editors (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), pp. 467-68.

bodies of literature dealing with general leadership typologies; the structure of Negro leadership; and Negro leadership typologies were surveyed. Attention was then turned to the published works of Washington and DuBois, and to the analyses of the two men by other authors. Here the literature is fortified by the works of at least two contemporary sociologists, Broderick and Rudwick, who incorporated interviews with DuBois and his associates into their research findings. Finally, the two men were classified and appraised as American Negro leaders.

IV. DEFINITIONS

Leadership

Like many other social science concepts, the term leadership is graced with more than a single definition. In fact, there seem to be two identifiable categories into which the several leadership definitions fall. According to Gouldner there are on the one hand, those definitions which imply or state that regardless of the social situation the traits of leaders are universal, and on the other hand there are those definitions which depict leadership traits as varying from situation to situation and group to group.

⁴ Alvin W. Gouldner, "Situations and Groups: The Situationist Critique," The Study of Leadership, C. G. Browne and Thomas C. Cohn, editors (Illinois: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, 1958), p. 76.

For purposes of this study the following situational view of the leadership process was adopted:

Leadership is a process that, at its best, moves from a social situation of unrest and dissatisfaction to one of at least temporary adjustment; it may begin in a crisis and in disorganization, and end in organization. Sometimes it moves from stagnation to disorganization and then to a new level of organization. It usually has a goal which, when achieved, calls for another form of leadership.⁵

In order to supplement the leadership process explanation of Bogardus, Smythe's definition of leadership was also adopted.

Leadership involves a group of individuals in which one assumes some form of dominance over the others; the attitudes and values of the group may be changed by the dominant person. It functions in a pressure and counter pressure fashion, with the group and leader reacting upon each other.⁶

The Negro Leader

The definitions of the Negro leader used in this study are those advanced by Smythe and Cox. Smythe saw the Negro leader in the following light:

The Negro leader is a person who exerts special influence over a number of people for a period of a decade or more and who

⁵ Emory S. Bogardus, Leaders and Leadership (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934), p. 7.

⁶ Hugh H. Smythe, "Changing Patterns in Negro Leadership," Social Forces, 29:191, 1950-51.

has helped to change significantly the position of the Negro in American society.⁷

Cox suggested that Negro leaders are those who, through their energy and insight, have become advocates of means and methods of dealing with this common cause (racial equality) and whose advocacy has been significantly accepted by the group.⁸

V. ORGANIZATION OF THE REMAINING DATA

In Chapter II attention is focused on the development of a general set of operational leadership types. For the most part any leader, as the concept is defined in this study, will fit into one or more of these general types. In Chapters III and IV the focus is on the background of Negro leadership and a Negro leadership typology.

Following the development of a Negro leadership typology separate chapters are devoted to the lives, works, and unique leadership contributions of Booker T. Washington and William E.B. DuBois. In Chapter VII Washington and DuBois are classified and appraised as Negro leaders.

7

Ibid.

8

Oliver C. Cox, "Leadership Among Negroes in the United States," Studies in Leadership, Alvin W. Gouldner, editor (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 228.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL LEADERSHIP TYPES

The construction of a general set of leadership types is indeed difficult. This difficulty seems to lie in the necessity of making the scheme both wieldy, which implies limitation, and all-inclusive, which suggests little or no limitation. The dilemma undoubtedly grows more acute as the number of leaders to be classified increases. It follows, then, that the greater the number of leaders, the more inclusive the valid leadership classifying device must be. The present study is highly restrictive in terms of the number of leaders to be classified and this has made possible the establishment of a wieldy, threefold general leadership typology.

The discussion of the intellectual, social, and executive leadership types which follows was approached in terms of the characteristics and functions which seem to be peculiar to each of these ideal types.

I. INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP

Bogardus, in referring to intellectual leadership, describes it as superior analyzing and synthesizing.¹ The

¹
Emory S. Bogardus, Fundamentals of Social Psychology (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950), p. 173.

intellectual leadership type is often, by way of example, the individual who is extremely capable and enthusiastic about devising plans. In fact, as Fisher points out, "the intellectual elite meets the requirements of leadership in an age of planning."² Such leaders, however, would be neither particularly capable nor enthusiastic in regard to translating their plans into action. A leader of this persuasion would probably be prone, by disposition, toward reflecting, abstracting and rationalizing, and against performing administrative duties and routine. However, it should be noted that frequently the individual who develops the plans or formulates the ideals of a social movement often suffers disillusionment over the translation of his plans or ideas into the less visionary frames of reference of his followers.³ Specifically in terms of social movements, Turner and Killian suggest that this distortion may occur through the necessary mixing of ideals and self-interest within the movement. They give the following example:

Labor movement ideologists frequently hold broad ideas of labor movement objectives as being concerned with the promotion of

² Margaret Fisher, Leadership and Intelligence (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), pp. 1-2.

³ Ralph H. Turner and Lewis Killian, Collective Behavior (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1957), p. 475.

general community welfare, in contrast to membership who apply the more immediate self-interest criteria to policy statements. Within the C.I.O. the leadership have encountered reluctance and occasionally open revolt in their efforts to make equalitarian race relations an objective on a par with improved wages and working conditions.⁴

For the most part intellectual leadership would influence human activity in an indirect rather than a direct fashion. The leader who influences directly would do so through his personality. On the other hand the indirect influence of the intellectual leader would be manifest not through his personality, but through his power to affect human activity by plan or pattern.⁵ In the case of Thomas Edison, for example, it was obviously not the Edison personality, but the patterned results of his laboratory work, his inventions, which affected changes in human life and institutions.⁶

Another important characteristic of the intellectual leader is his tendency toward introversion. And according to Bogardus, introvertive leadership is usually radical leadership in that it often manifests a strong sense of justice, and sets out to right what it conceives to be

⁴
Ibid.

⁵
Bogardus, Leaders and Leadership, p. 17.

⁶
Ibid., p. 16.

7
 wrong. Obviously, this type of leader frequently works alone, indeed often preferring to do so. His aloofness and independence probably have a great deal to do with the fact that he is more respected than loved.⁸

The intellectual leader may be handicapped by temperamentalism, neurasthenia, fitfulness, and overseriousness. He may also be prone to harbor grudges and to overestimate his own importance.⁹

In a vivid description of the mental or intellectual leadership construct, Bogardus writes the following:

The inventor, the poet, the philosopher are representative mental leaders. By the processes of thought they may exercise special influence over multitudes. They work away unseen "far from the maddening crowd". Their influence is felt later if not at once. They indulge occasionally in social contacts, but as diversions. They may not be interested in leadership, as such, or in human welfare; their achievements, however, classify them as leaders and perhaps as outstanding group benefactors.

He who thinks about thinking is headed toward mental leadership. To ponder, to reflect, to question, to think problems through prepares one to be a pioneer of the intellect.¹⁰

⁷
Ibid., p. 198.

⁸
Ibid.

⁹
Ibid.

¹⁰
 Bogardus, Fundamentals of Social Psychology, p. 174.

II. SOCIAL LEADERSHIP

To some extent social leadership includes characteristics and functions which differ quite radically from those previously discussed under intellectual leadership. While the intellectual leader would probably be at his productive best in personal seclusion, away from other people, the effectiveness of the social leader would depend upon his ability to deal with and direct other people. For purposes of this study, then, a crucial facet of social leadership will be the superior directing of associates which this type ideally manifests.¹¹ As Bird¹² points out, social leadership, which he discussed in terms of the persuasive leader, is more closely in touch with those led than any other form of leadership. The social leader is intimately aware of the needs, desires, and feelings of his followers. He is cognizant and ever alert to their ideas, and usually skillfully incorporates these ideas into his own plans for achieving the goal.

The spoken word is a characteristic working tool of social leadership. This leader is often a speaker of such accomplishment that he is able to initiate courses of action

¹¹

Ibid., p. 173.

¹²

Charles Bird, Social Psychology (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940), p. 373.

through the skill of his oratory.¹³ Obviously, then, social leadership, unlike intellectual leadership, influences human activity directly, that is, through the personality of the leader. Writing of the influence of personality where this leadership type is concerned, Thomas and Znaniecki noted the following:

The mechanism of leadership by prestige is characterized by the fact that it is the personality of the leader which constitutes in the eyes of those who follow him the sanction for the ideas which he promulgates and for the behavior which he suggests by word or by example. His suggestions are put into action not because any reward or punishment is expected of him, but because they are considered practically or morally right; and they are considered right without being analyzed in reflection or tested in practice, simply because they emanate from him.¹⁴

15

16

Both Bird¹⁵ and Bogardus¹⁶ have suggested that social leadership reacts quickly and forcefully to opponents and issues. While intellectual leaders might be unwilling to surrender qualifying statements, social leaders would probably move speedily to conclusions. "It (social leader-

13

Ibid.

14

W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1927) II: p. 1331.

15

Bird, op. cit., p. 374.

16

and Leadership

Bogardus, Leaders and Leadership, p. 196.

ship) gets up in a meeting before the discussion is over and demands: Let's do something."¹⁷

The shortcomings of social leadership lie in the very areas where intellectual leadership manifests excesses. Rarely would the social leader take sufficient pains to analyze, synthesize, explain, deduce, and generalize.¹⁸ He would not be prone to manipulate ideas.

Bird, in discussing the political strategist as persuasive leader set forth the following description:

They fit their problems into the mold of the "right" in contrast with the "wrong" and then identify the "right" with the aims of their followers or the people. Their speeches are full of cliches or verbal sanctions; they arouse enthusiasm and support through appeals to freedom, honest labor, law and order, patriotism, justice, or national interest. Whenever they attack a person or an issue, they are certain that the led share antagonisms that can be increased and turned to useful account. They condemn opponents or brand policies as communistic, fascistic, or undemocratic, but never do they attack the rank and file of people who may have supported their opponents. They oppose policies more than leaders, but when opposition to the latter is necessary, then their followers are pictured as having been betrayed. Thus the persuasive leader gains support without calling loyalty into question; he captures loyalty for his own cause. If necessary, the per-

¹⁷

Ibid.

¹⁸

Bogardus, Fundamentals of Social Psychology, p. 175.

suasive leader creates issues, assumes the offensive, selects the aspects of situations which further policies, directs attention to the future, and emphasizes the past only when significant achievements have marked his regime. He knows that people have short memories and are primarily concerned with immediately practical affairs. He is always ready to permit the led to take credit for the conclusions which he himself has formulated.¹⁹

III. EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP

The process of executive leadership, as viewed in this study, lies somewhere between the intellectual and social leadership types previously described. Executive leadership is the pivotal point in the present threefold leadership typology. As such it contains some of the characteristics and functions of both intellectual and social leadership.

Like the intellectual leader, the executive leader is adept at devising plans, but the plans of the executive relate more to action than to ideas. His paramount interest lies in the concrete uses to which his plans can be
²⁰
 put.

Like the social leader, he works with and manipulates other people. But while the social leader is always

¹⁹

Bird, loc. cit.

²⁰

Bogardus, Fundamentals of Social Psychology, p.177.

before his public, the executive leader rarely appears on stage. He usually operates behind the scenes. Bird,²¹ Gouldner,²² and Bogardus²³ all indicate that the executive prefers to remain aloof from the mass. His associative life, in terms of the leadership function, is usually confined to a few well chosen subordinates, whom he controls rather completely. "Through controlling jobs or positions, these leaders also command the power to enforce their demands."²⁴ Thomas and Znaniecki spoke of a leadership by fear and hope in the following fashion:

This type of leadership is the best known and the most general, since it underlies all political and most of economic control. It presupposes that the leader has at his disposal positive or negative values which are the object of the desire or fear of others and which he can at will grant or withdraw, impose or take off.²⁵

Executive leadership is characterized by knowledge of and great attention to detail. In this regard the fol-

²¹

Bird, op. cit., p. 372.

²²

Alvin W. Gouldner, "Bureaucrats and Agitators," Studies in Leadership, Alvin W. Gouldner, editor, p. 54.

²³

Bogardus, loc. cit.

²⁴

Bird, loc. cit.

²⁵

Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 11.

lowing statement of Franklin Remington, a successful business executive is illuminating:

If I were a stenographer, a clerk, or an office assistant in a big company, and had ambitions to become an important executive of it, I would study that business from the ground roots up....I would see that I was better informed on some things, at least, than the head of my department or the head of the business....Nothing more surely attracts an executive's attention to an employee than to learn from that employee something that the executive didn't know himself.²⁶

The executive leader also manifests outstanding organizing ability, and his attention is focused primarily on the maintenance and perservation of the institution or organization he heads rather than upon the needs of the rank and file within it.²⁷ He has little use, according to Thomas and Znaniecki, for social reconstruction, in so far as it implies the substitution of a new social system for the old one. He simply cannot construct a new social system with instruments whose efficiency depends on the preservation of the old system.²⁸

²⁶

Bogardus, op. cit., p. 178.

²⁷

Bird, loc. cit.

²⁸

Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., p. 1331.

Turner and Killian have pointed out a predominance of specific leadership types at successive stages in the development of social movements. This stage-type approach places the executive at that point in which the social movement has developed its greatest sophistication. It is at this point that a preoccupation with the administration of the movement itself becomes paramount.²⁹

Tesd offered the following summary analysis of the executive leader's functions:

Typically they include the following efforts: (1) planning and defining policies and procedures; (2) organizing the activities of others; (3) delegating authority and responsibility; (4) controlling these in terms of the results desired; (5) supervising the general progress of results (6) giving general orders or instructions; (7) interpreting and transmitting policies; (8) training key subordinates to carry the executive load; (9) coordinating all the various efforts and elements. Then, finally, there is the important task of stimulating and vitalizing all the individuals who are contributing their effort.³⁰

IV. SUMMARY

The three leadership types set forth in this chap-

²⁹

Turner and Killian, op. cit., pp. 474-75.

³⁰

Ordway Tesd, The Art of Leadership (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1935), pp. 14-15.

ter should be viewed as ideal types. Together these types represent a continuum of overlapping characteristics. Therefore individual leaders will not necessarily fit neatly into one category only.

It should be clearly noted that the general leadership typology discussed in this chapter becomes functional to this study only when it is used in conjunction with the specific Negro leadership typology developed in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF AMERICAN NEGRO LEADERSHIP

The present chapter aims at the development of a brief historical overview of the structure of American Negro leadership. For the purpose of this description the following historical divisions will be adopted: slavery, reconstruction, and post-reconstruction. The year 1910 has been selected, somewhat arbitrarily, as the beginning of the post-reconstruction period in American race relations. This year does, however, have a special significance in that it marks the perfecting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People into a formal organization.¹

I. SLAVERY

During slavery there were at least four general structural categories of Negro leaders. These were the insurrectionists; the favorite slaves; the underground workers; and the abolitionists.²

¹ John H. Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), p. 439.

² Oliver C. Cox, "Leadership Among Negroes," Studies in Leadership, Alvin W. Gouldner, editor (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 230.

The Insurrectionists

The insurrectionists were leaders who secretly planned the organization of slaves for the purpose of violently attacking the master class and thus the entire system of slavery.³

Revolt or conspiracies to revolt began with the institution of slavery and persisted down to 1865. Carroll and Aptheker both offer documentation for approximately 200 attempts at insurrection between 1800 and 1865, however only about four of these reached mass proportions.⁴ The outstanding leaders of these four movements were Gabriel Prosser in Virginia in 1800, Denmark Vesey in South Carolina in 1822, Nat Turner in Virginia in 1831, and John Brown (a white man) at Harpers Ferry, Virginia in 1859. All of these leaders were put to death, but their movements did have the effect of increasing social unrest over slavery throughout the nation.⁵

The attempted revolt of Denmark Vesey constitutes one of the least known, but perhaps the most elaborately planned slave insurrection in American history. Vesey began active organizational work in and around Charleston,

³
Ibid.

⁴ Joseph C. Carroll, Slave Insurrections in the United States 1800-1865 (Boston, 1938), and Herbert Aptheker, American Negro Slave Revolts (New York: International Pub., 1943).

⁵
Cox, loc. cit.

South Carolina in late 1821. Woodson and Aptheker described the conspiracy as follows:

On the second Monday in July, 1822, when most of the master class would be absent for the summer vacation, the attack was to be made. Lists of thousands of recruits were drawn up (9,000), money was raised to purchase arms, and a blacksmith was engaged to make pikes and bayonets for the incipient attack. The conspirators hoped, however, to obtain a larger supply by raiding the arsenal in the city (Negro workers in the arsenal were to assist).⁶

First word of the plot came to the slaveholders on May 30, 1822 when Peter, a favorite and confidential slave, to quote the court record, of a Col. J.C. Pringleau, having been approached five days earlier to join the movement, told his master of this.

One hundred and thirty-one Negroes and four whites were arrested. The whites, convicted of sympathy for the rebels, were fined and jailed. Of the Negroes, thirty seven were hanged while the others were variously punished.⁷

The Favorite Slaves

The favorite slave was the very opposite type of leader to the insurrectionists. His leadership powers were derived solely from the authority of the master, and his duties were chiefly those of directing and accommodating his

6

Carter G. Woodson, The Negro in Our History (Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, 1947), pp. 179-80.

7

Herbert Aptheker, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States (New York: Citadel Press, 1951), pp. 74-75.

fellow slaves to the system. He usually held the positions of overseer in the fields, or skilled worker, or domestic slave.

Slave-holders placed great trust in the favorite slave, and to some degree these slaves helped maintain the system. Planned insurrections, for example, were almost invariably broken up or reported by favorite slaves. The ordinary slave looked to this type of leader for advice and for intercession with the master in times of need and stress.

The favorite could assume the status of leadership among Negroes because in the society of slavery the common cause of the slaves was made to appear both illegal and sinful. As a result the favorite slave, who identified himself with the purposes of his master, might, depending on the degree of resignation of the mass of slaves and the symbolic distinction derived from the master's favors to him, acquire great esteem among the slaves themselves.⁸

The Underground Workers

The underground railroad movement provided Negroes with a means of escape from slavery to freedom. Free Negroes, along with whites, provided the leadership for this movement. Cox suggests that the exploits of the runaway

slave contributed greatly to the final abolition of slavery.⁹ Franklin comments on the railroad as follows:

All Underground Railroad lines led North. They began on various plantations in the South and ran vaguely--and dangerously--up rivers and valleys, and across mountains to some point on the Ohio or upper Mississippi River in the West, and to points in Pennsylvania and New Jersey in the East...

The Underground Railroad did not seem to suffer for want of operators. Professor Wilbur H. Siebert has catalogued more than 3,200 active workers; and there is every reason to believe that there were many more who will remain forever anonymous.¹⁰

Harriet Tubman, herself an escaped slave, was one of the most famous and successful leaders of this movement. Although she was unable to read or to write, she nevertheless showed remarkable ingenuity in the management of her runaway caravans.¹¹

The Abolitionists

The abolitionists developed and led public opinion against slavery. Through public speeches, group discussions, writings, and political debates, these leaders kept the anti-slavery question constantly before the American

⁹ Cox, op. cit., p. 231.

¹⁰ Franklin, op. cit., p. 253.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 255.

public. Although the greatest abolitionists were undoubtedly whites, outstanding Negro abolitionists were much in evidence.¹²

Gunnar Myrdal has pointed out that:

The Negro fighters in the Abolitionist Movement in the North--Harriet Tubman, John M. Langston, Frederick Douglass, and many others--represented a second early crop of Negro protest leaders. Unlike the slave insurgents, these leaders set the future pattern on which Negroes based their protest. The new pattern consisted of nonviolent legal activities in accord with the democratic principles of the American Creed and the Christian religion.¹³

II. RECONSTRUCTION

Following the Civil War and during the period known as Reconstruction, many Negro leaders turned to politics. Frederick Douglass, F.B. Pinchback, John Langston, and others of the Negro abolitionist tradition constituted the center of a much larger group of Republican politicians. Since suffrage and other civil liberties had been accorded to Negroes after the Civil War, a few of these Negro leaders

¹²

Cox, op. cit., p. 232.

¹³

Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 737.

seemed to concentrate some attention on economic accumulation and the protection of economic gains.¹⁴

Between 1869 and 1901, when the last of the reconstruction Negro politicians ended his term, twenty Negroes had served in the United States House of Representatives and two in the United States Senate. An even larger number served in the state legislatures. The two senators, H.R. Revels and B.K. Bruce, were sent from Mississippi, while the twenty representatives came from eight different states.¹⁵

The Negro reconstruction politician, writes Cox, established for the Negro people an unalterable claim to the primary right of political representation, and demonstrated to them not only its basic social value but also the possibilities of its immediate attainment. The withholding of civil rights now became an unjust deprivation rather than a limitation of aspirations to new freedoms.¹⁶

Toward the end of the nineteenth century the South began a gradual but unmistakable capitulation to racism. Woodward points out that this turn of events can be attri-

¹⁴
G. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), p. 217.

¹⁵
Cox, op. cit., p. 235.

¹⁶
Ibid.

buted to an almost simultaneous decline in the effectiveness of the restraints on racism which had been exercised by Northern liberals, Southern conservatives, and Southern liberals. And this resulted in the domination of the Southern racial scene by white supremacists.¹⁷

It was during this period, in the year 1895, that Booker T. Washington emerged as the national Negro race relations leader of a pragmatic and conciliatory school of thought.¹⁸

III. POST-RECONSTRUCTION

The post-reconstruction period in American race relations began, for the purpose of this study, around 1910. By this time the white racist leadership of the New South was well established, and the Negro leadership of Booker T. Washington had grown to outstanding national proportions.¹⁹ But it was also in 1910 that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.), which was founded in 1909, emerged with a formal organizational structure. The efforts of this organization were directed at

¹⁷ C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 51-52.

¹⁸ Woodward, Origins of the New South, p. 357.

¹⁹ Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, pp. 49-95.

helping Negroes to view themselves as full American citizens; and contesting, through the courts, discriminatory legal sanctions against Negroes.

In a paragraph on the N.A.A.C.P. and William E.B. DuBois, the only Negro of the Association's five original incorporators, Oliver Cox indicated:

Yet, although the effectiveness of the NAACP derived from its organization, the work of W.E.B. DuBois as editor of its organ, The Crisis, was so outstanding that for a long time the Association had been almost identified with his ideas and principles. DuBois was a contemporary and antagonist of Washington. His claim to leadership was based particularly on his insistent demand for unlimited civil rights for Negroes here and now.²⁰

There seems to be little doubt that the spirit of protest among American Negroes has increased since the formal organization of the N.A.A.C.P.; and the present day evidence seems to suggest that the protest is continuing to rise.

20

Cox, op. cit., p. 240.

CHAPTER IV

TOWARD A NEGRO LEADERSHIP TYPOLOGY

The present chapter undertakes the development of an operational Negro leadership typology. In later chapters this construct becomes the basis for generalizations about the leadership of Washington and DuBois. This typology includes the four major leadership patterns which seem typical of American Negro leadership since slavery: protest, accommodation, compromise, and nationalism. Although compromise is treated as a separate category it is actually a sub-type of both protest and accommodation, and as such would lie somewhere between these opposite poles.

I. PROTEST

Cox suggests that the leadership which employs protest as its main line of action seeks:

To influence public opinion through propaganda and juridical devices to the point where effective pressure in favor of civil rights for Negroes would be brought to bear upon the political institution.¹

He further points out that:

Protest has been the most prolonged and significant line of action of Negro leadership. Indeed, protest was the instrument

¹
Cox, op. cit., p. 242.

of the abolitionists, and since the Civil War almost all the Negro newspapers and magazines have been protest organs.²

The insurrectionists actually laid the foundation for the tradition of Negro protest, but the Negro abolitionists set the future pattern on which Negroes based their protest.

The first Negro protest leader of national stature was Frederick Douglass who achieved prominence during the decades immediately preceding the Civil War. In his July 4, 1852 oration at Rochester, New York, Douglass voiced the Negro protest thus:

What to the American slave is your 4th of July? I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy licence; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are, to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety and hypocrisy--a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages.....

You boast of your love of liberty, your superior civilization, and your pure Christianity, while the whole political power of the nation (as embodied in the two great political parties) is solemnly

pledged to support and perpetuate the enslavement of three millions of your countrymen. You hurl your anathemas at the crown-headed tyrants of Russia and Austria and pride yourselves on your democratic institutions, while you yourselves consent to be the mere tools and bodyguards of the tyrants of Virginia and Carolina. You invite to your shores fugitives of oppression from abroad, honor them, protect them, and pour out your money to them like water; but the fugitives from your own land you advertise, hunt, arrest, shoot, and kill. You glory in your refinement and your universal education; yet you maintain a system as barbarous and dreadful as ever stained the character of a nation--a system begun in avarice, supported in pride, and perpetuated in cruelty. You shed tears over fallen Hungary, and make the sad story of her wrongs the theme of your poets, statesmen and orators, till (sic) your gallant sons are ready to fly to arms to vindicate her cause against the oppressor; but, in regard to the ten thousand wrongs of the American slave, you would enforce the strictest silence, and would hail him as an enemy of the nation who dares to make those wrongs the subject of public discourse! 3

Protest leadership, immediately after the Civil War ✓
concentrated on the problem of political rights for Negroes through arousing the public sentiment of whites in the North. The overriding theme of the post-Civil War protest leadership was not industry and economic independence among Negroes, but political freedom; and in later years

³ Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 737-38.

this emphasis was broadened to include social freedom. Thus Frederick Douglass made the Negro's economic welfare dependent upon the attainment of his Constitutional rights when he said:

While the Constitution of the United States shall guarantee the colored man's right to vote, somebody in the South will want that vote and will offer the terms upon which that vote can be obtained.⁴

Since about 1910 the protest leadership of American Negroes has been primarily voiced through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The techniques have continued to be propaganda and judicial, supplemented in recent years by research findings in the social sciences. However, following the Association's successful arguments before the Supreme Court in 1954 which resulted in the decision outlawing racial discrimination in the public schools, it has found itself sharing the mantle of protest leadership with individuals and groups outside its own sphere of influence.

Notable among the newly emerging protest organizations is the interracial Congress on Racial Equality (C.O.R.E.). Actually the leadership of C.O.R.E. seemed to be much closer to the Southern Student Sit-In-Movement than was the lead-

⁴ Frederick Douglass, The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (Boston: De Wolfe, Fiske Co., 1895), p. 418.

ership of the N.A.A.C.P. Further, the recent wave of Southern Freedom Rides are probably C.O.R.E. inspired. As a case in point, James Farmer, C.O.R.E.'s national director participated in one of the recent Freedom Rides through Mississippi, for which he and his riding companions were arrested.

It seems that Myrdal was both accurate and prophetic in the 1940's when he said, "the protest motive is still rising. It is bound to change considerably the conditions under which Negro leadership functions."⁵

II. ACCOMMODATION

Although the pendulum has swung noticeably in recent years, Myrdal was probably also correct when he stated, "accommodation is undoubtedly stronger than protest, particularly in the South where the structure of caste is most pervasive and unyielding."⁶ It is probably safe to assume that the Negro's slave heritage; the failure of the insurrectionists to overthrow slavery; and the passage and strict enforcement of Southern Jim Crow laws have all contributed to the Negro's belief that accommodation was the most real-

⁵ Myrdal, op. cit., p. 744.

⁶ Ibid., p. 720.

tic behavior under the prevailing caste system.

The accommodationist Negro leader, then, derived his leadership powers from whites. He is clearly a descendent of the favorite slave leader discussed in Chapter III. Characteristically, the accommodating leader believes fervently that the friendship and sympathy of whites represents the only true path of progress for American Negroes. He accepts the reality of the caste system and seldom, if ever, questions the status quo openly. And yet it should not be concluded that the accommodationist is not sincerely interested in the welfare and progress of his people. But since he feels that this welfare and progress is completely dependent upon whites, he does not attempt to gain more for the race than he feels whites are willing to give. He will go to great lengths to avoid alienating his white sponsors.

The accommodationist Negro leader has perfected a suppliant approach toward all whites. Joseph W. Holley, a former Negro educator, exemplified this approach when he wrote:

The truth is, we colored people can get what we want, if it is within reason, from a white man if we approach him in the right way. He is like the Negro in the minstrel show who says to his companion, 'Don't shove me! You may push me all you want to, but don't shove me!' You may push the white man in any reasonable direction you want him to go, but

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never shove him.

Cox expounds upon the essence of accommodationist leadership thus:

It inheres in the fact that the leader identifies the enemy as the best friend of the people. He serves as a principal intermediary in securing advantages from this friend that will apparently outweigh those which may be secured by the people through their insistence upon ends embodied in their common cause.⁹

It is of course quite natural for the accommodating leader to place the blame for the hardships of his race squarely on the shoulders of Negroes themselves. In this regard Holley declared:

The most effective influence for race tolerance, and the most powerful compulsion toward non-segregation, will come as we lift our mass intelligence, skill, and industry into responsible citizenship and Christian character.¹⁰

The accommodationist Negro leader is rooted in the traditions of the American South, and it is in this region that he is most prevalent. In the North Negroes have the vote; fairly impartial justice; and the anonymity of large

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Joseph W. Holley, You Can't Build A Chimney From The Top (New York: William Frederick Press, 1948), p. 60.

9

Cox, op. cit., p. 245.

10

Holley, op. cit., p. 222.

cities. Taken in combination these factors have tended to make accommodation a less significant form of Negro leadership outside of the South.¹¹

III. COMPROMISE

Compromise leadership is apparently wedged in between the two extremes of protest and accommodation. The fundamental attitudes of the compromise leader, according to Cox, are protest attitudes, but due to his dependent relationship to his white sponsors he manifests sympathy with their interests. However, he differs from the accommodationist in that he does not take the initiative in advocating the wishes of these whites who generally oppose equality of opportunity for Negroes. Indeed, he may do all he can to surreptitiously, frustrate these wishes.¹²

Myrdal describes the double role of compromise leadership when he says:

The presence of the protest motive in the Negro community tends to induce the Negro leader to take on two different appearances; one toward the whites and another toward the Negro followership. Toward the Negroes he will pretend that he has dared to say things and to take positions much in exaggeration of what actually has hap-

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Myrdal, op. cit., p. 722.

¹²

Cox, op. cit., p. 258.

pened. The present author, when comparing notes from interviews in the Negro community with what the white community leaders have told him about their "good Negroes," has frequently observed this discrepancy.

A dual standard of behavior is not unnatural for a Southern Negro. It is rather to be expected of anybody in the lower layer of the Southern caste system. But the Negro leaders especially are pressed into such a pattern as they are more regularly, and in a sense professionally, in contact with whites and have a more considerable stake in the game.¹³

IV. NATIONALISM

While protest and accommodation constitute the two opposing poles in American Negro leadership, nationalism does have significance as a leadership type. If simplicity of ordering was the intention of the present typology nationalism would probably be made to fit on the continuum between protest and compromise. However, in the interest of accuracy it seems that nationalism is tangential to the continuum, touching it only at some point quite near the protest pole.

Protest leadership forthrightly and vigorously deplores the racial inequities of the American system, yet it is quite favorably disposed toward the system itself. Pro-

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Myrdal, op. cit., p. 772.

test leadership, then, seeks to maintain the system while eliminating its racial inequities. // It sees its aim as the creation of a more perfect system through the establishment of a universal pattern of ethnic equality within the system. // Nationalistic leadership also protests loudly against racial inequality as it affects Negroes, but it would solve the problem by substituting black superiority for white superiority. // Therefore nationalistic leadership rejects the racial integration theme of protest leadership, and advances a segregated society doctrine akin to that expounded by a segment of American whites. In such a society, say the Negro nationalists, the black man would dominate all political and social institutions.

While both accommodation and protest leadership often urge Negroes to take pride in their Negroid heritage, nationalist leadership carries the race pride theme into Negro chauvinism. And Negro chauvinism with its implicit anti-Caucasian sentiment is appealing to the Negro masses, impatient with America's gradual tendency toward complete racial equality. In fact the Garvey Movement, which is said to be the only real mass movement among American Negroes, was nationalistic in character.

In 1921 Marcus Garvey organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association and eventually caught the ears of a great number of Negroes throughout the United States by exalting everything black, and suggesting that the only hope for American Negroes was to flee from their oppression and return to Africa. Once in Africa all the Negro peoples of the world would contribute to the building up of the black continent.¹⁵

The temporarily successful nationalist leadership of Marcus Garvey established this West Indian Negro as the only charismatic leader of national significance American Negroes have had until quite recently.¹⁶

¹⁵

Myrdal, op. cit., p. 747.

¹⁶

H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1946), pp. 295-96.

CHAPTER V

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

The present chapter is devoted to an examination into certain aspects of the life and times of Booker T. Washington, Negro educator and internationally recognized leader of his people. The attempt here is to discuss those recorded highlights of Washington's life which give perspective and meaning to the leadership role he played during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The objective is not to ²⁴praise or condemn the man Washington, but rather to gain insight into his leadership function. The examination which follows, then, is intended to produce the raw material necessary to classify Washington's leadership in accordance with the typologies set forth in Chapters II and IV.

I. BACKGROUND

Slavery

Booker T. Washington was born a slave in Franklin County, Virginia on April 5, 1856. Since no formal birth records were kept on slaves, Washington's birth date is an approximation. Booker's mother was a slave cook on the John Burroughs plantation and his father was believed to

have been a white man from a nearby plantation. As in the case of birth records the parentage of slave children was usually irrelevant, so the identify of his father was of no consequence.¹

For eight or nine years of his childhood, Washington endured the typical hardships of slave existence: he lived in a one-room log cabin with his mother, brother, and sister; slept on a pile of rags on the cabin's dirt floor; ate only irregularly and insufficiently; received no schooling; and worked daily on the master's plantation.²

He gained his freedom at the end of the Civil War. Writing of the day he was officially released from slavery, he said:

In company with my mother, brother, and sister, and a large number of other slaves, I went to the master's house. All of our master's family were either standing or seated on the veranda of the house, where they could see what was to take place and hear what was said....The most distinct thing that I now recall in connection with the scene was that some man who seemed to be a stranger (a United States officer, I presume) made a little speech and then read a rather long paper--the Emancipation Proclamation, I think. Af-

¹ Samuel R. Spencer, Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life (Boston: Little, Brown Co., 1955), pp. 14-15.

² Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1956), pp. 1-6.

ter the reading we were told that we were all free, and could go when and where we pleased. My mother, who was standing by my side, leaned over and kissed her children, while tears of joy ran down her cheeks. She explained to us what it all meant, that this was the day for which she had been praying, but fearing that she would never live to see.³

Education

Washington spent the years immediately following emancipation in Malden, West Virginia with his mother, stepfather, and siblings. Between 1865 and 1871 the boy Washington worked with his brother and stepfather in the salt and coal mines of Malden. His education during this period consisted of part-time study at an elementary school for Negroes and occasional evening tutoring from Malden's young Negro teacher.⁴

Early in 1871 the fifteen-year old Washington left the mines to become houseboy for a Mrs. Lewis Ruffner, whose husband owned the mines. Mrs. Ruffner, it seems, had a compulsion for order, cleanliness, and punctuality. In regard to his experience in her household Washington commented:

I cannot now recall how long I lived with

³
Ibid., p. 14.

⁴
Spencer, op. cit., pp. 21-23.

Mrs. Ruffner before going to Hampton, but I think it must have been a year and a half. At any rate, I here repeat what I have said more than once before, that the lessons that I learned in the home of Mrs. Ruffner were as valuable to me as any education I have ever gotten anywhere since. Even to this day I never see bits of paper scattered around a house or in the street that I do not want to pick them up at once. I never see a filthy yard that I do not want to clean it, a peeling off a fence that I do not want to put it on, an unpainted or unwhitewashed house that I do want to paint or whitewash it, or a button off one's clothes, or a grease-spot on them or on a floor, that I do not want to call attention to it.⁵

At sixteen his desire for an education had become so intense that Washington, in spite of his mother's misgivings and with insufficient funds, started the five hundred mile journey from Malden to Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. After a journey filled with hardships he finally reached Hampton and won admittance to the Institute by demonstrating his broom-sweeping and cleaning ability.

As a first year student at Hampton, Washington studied basic courses in arithmetic, English grammar, reading, spelling, geography, and natural history. In the second year United States History was added, and world history,

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Washington, op. cit., p. 30.

government, and "moral sciences" were added during his third and final year. In addition, his curriculum included instruction in agriculture, housework, household industries, and drill in teaching. Public speaking and debating comprised his extracurricular activities.⁶

Following his graduation from Hampton, Washington returned to Malden and there he taught school for the next three years. He then took a year of graduate training at Wayland Seminary, a liberal arts school in Washington, D.C.

In his autobiography Washington compared the Hampton and Wayland experiences in this fashion:

At this school (Wayland) I found the students, in most cases, had more money, were better dressed, wore the latest style of all manner of clothing, and in some cases were more brilliant mentally. At Hampton it was a standing rule that, while the institution would be responsible for securing some one to pay the tuition for the students, the men and women themselves must provide for their own board, books, clothing, and room wholly by work, or partly by work and partly in cash. At the institution at which I now was (Wayland), I found that a large proportion of the students by some means had their own personal expenses paid for them. At Hampton the student was constantly making the effort through the industries to help himself, and that very effort was of immense value in character-building. The students at the other school seemed to be less self-dependent. They seemed to give more at-

tention to mere outward appearances. In a word, they did not appear to me to be beginning at the bottom, on a real solid foundation, to the extent that they were at Hampton. They knew more about Latin and Greek when they left school, but they seemed to know less about life and its conditions as they would meet it at their homes. Having lived for a number of years in the midst of comfortable surroundings, they were not as much inclined as the Hampton students to go into the country districts of the South to take up work for our people.⁷

At the end of his eight months stay at Wayland Seminary, Washington accepted an invitation which offered him an unusually novel experience. The state of West Virginia had decided to move its capital from Wheeling to a more centrally located city. The choice was to be made by a statewide vote, and Charleston was one of three cities interested in becoming the new capital. Since Negro support was thought necessary, Washington was asked to join the Charleston interests and stump the state for that city.⁸

His success as a speaker led some of his white friends to urge a political career upon him, and under the tutelage of a Charleston attorney he supposedly began to

⁷ Washington, op. cit., pp. 61-62.

⁸ Spencer, op. cit., p. 42.

study law.⁹ But these law studies--Washington makes no mention of them in his autobiography--were short-lived. In regard to this period of his life Washington wrote:

Even then I had a strong feeling that what our people most needed was to get a foundation in education, industry, and property, and for this I felt that they could better afford to strive than for political preferment. As for my individual self, it appeared to me to be reasonably certain that I could succeed in political life, but I had a feeling that it would be a rather selfish kind of success--individual success at the cost of failing to do my duty in assisting in laying a foundation for the masses.¹⁰

In 1879, shortly after he had decided against a political career Washington received a letter from General Samuel Armstrong, President and Founder of Hampton Institute, inviting him to return to Hampton to teach and pursue post-graduate study. Washington accepted this offer, and upon arrival was assigned to teach in the night school and serve as faculty resident advisor to a group of American Indians whose education Hampton had undertaken.

It was in the spring of 1881 that the Tuskegee opportunity presented itself. Mathews described the circumstances surrounding the Tuskegee offer as follows:

⁹
Ibid.

¹⁰
Washington, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

He was teaching at Hampton in May, 1881 when, at evening chapel, General Armstrong told the students about a letter that had come from (a group of white men in Alabama asking him to nominate a white teacher for a normal school which they wished to see started for colored people in the little town of Tuskegee,) situated in the Deep South in the heart of the Black Belt, and surrounded by a population predominantly Negro and rural. On the following morning the General asked Booker if he felt that he could initiate such an enterprise if he were invited. He replied that he would be ready to do his best. Accordingly, Armstrong wrote to the Tuskegee committee to say that he had no white teacher available, but that he had a colored graduate who had proved his capacity, and went on to describe Booker Washington. A thrill went through the student body some time later during a Sunday evening service in the Institute Chapel. A messenger came into the building carrying a telegram which he handed to General Armstrong, who read it out to the assembled students: 'Booker T. Washington will suit us. Send him at once.'ll

II. TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

Upon arriving in Tuskegee, Washington found, much to his amazement, that "his school" was not yet in existence. In fact, not only were there no buildings, land, or students, but no money had been appropriated for these purposes. While the state had voted a ^{grant} grant, it was to

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Basil Mathews, Booker T. Washington (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), p. 61.

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be used solely for salaries.

Shortly after his arrival in Tuskegee, Washington set out to explore Macon County and gain first hand knowledge of the living conditions of the people he would be teaching. At the conclusion of this investigation he observed:

Of one thing I felt more strongly convinced than ever, after spending this month in seeing the actual life of the colored people, and that was that, in order to lift them up, something must be done more than merely to imitate New England education as it then existed. I saw more clearly than ever the wisdom of the system which General Armstrong had inaugurated at Hampton. To take the children of such people as I had been among for a month, and each day give them a few hours of mere book education, I felt would be almost a waste of time.¹³

It seems, however, that his general orientation toward Negro education was greatly influenced by the unfavorable reaction of whites toward liberal education for Negroes. He wrote:

There were not a few white people in the vicinity of Tuskegee who looked with some disfavor upon the project. They questioned its value to the colored people, and had a fear that it might result in

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Ibid., p. 64.

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Washington, op. cit., p. 83.

bringing about trouble between the races. Some had the feeling that in proportion as the Negro received education, in the same proportion would his value decrease as an economic factor in the state. These people feared the result of education would be that the Negroes would leave the farms, and that it would be difficult to secure them for domestic service.

The white people who questioned the wisdom of starting this new school had in their minds pictures of what was called an educated Negro, with a high hat, imitation gold eye-glasses, a showy walking-stick, kid gloves, fancy boots, and what not--in a word, a man who was determined to live by his wits. It was difficult for these people to see how education would produce any other kind of a colored man.¹⁴

His educational enterprise began with thirty hand-picked students in a shanty donated by a local Negro church. He later borrowed five hundred dollars from the Treasurer of Hampton Institute and purchased an abandoned plantation in the vicinity of Tuskegee, and on this farm he and his students built Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute.¹⁵

Washington continued the Hampton learned work-study emphasis at Tuskegee. During the first nineteen years of the school's existence thirty-six of forty buildings were

¹⁴

Ibid., p. 84.

¹⁵

Mathews, op. cit., p. 70.

built by student labor.¹⁶ He did, however, encounter resistance from parents who resented Tuskegee's industrial emphasis. In this regard he remarked:

I gave little heed to these protests, except that I lost no opportunity to go into as many parts of the state as I could, for the purpose of speaking to the parents, and showing them the value of industrial education. Besides, I talked to the students constantly on the subject. Notwithstanding the unpopularity of industrial work, the school continued to increase in numbers to such an extent that by the middle of the second year there was an attendance of about one hundred and fifty, representing almost all parts of the state of Alabama, and including a few from other states.¹⁷

At the very beginning of his Tuskegee experience, Washington, out of necessity, assumed the role of fund-raiser. With the help of his Assistant Principal, Olivia Davidson, and instruction in the art of fund-raising from General Armstrong of Hampton, Washington raised around eleven thousand dollars in his first three years. Probably to increase his prospects in the North he rather adroitly established an independent governing body of nine trustees for his institution in 1890. These nine trustees included five represen-

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Washington, op. cit., p. 105.

¹⁷

Ibid., p. 109.

tatives from the South and four from the North.¹⁸ This move may have laid the ground work for what Spencer refers to as Washington's later unrivaled national fund-raising ability. By the time of his death in 1915 Tuskegee's endowment fund had reached approximately two million dollars, an endowment larger than that of virtually all Southern colleges, white or Negro.¹⁹

He maintained personal direction of Tuskegee throughout his lifetime. In this regard Spencer offers the following comment:

Insisting that he be informed of every detail of the school's operation, he worked out a series of forms on which each department head reported daily; any offender who did not submit his report by 8:30 A.M. received a prompt rebuke from the principal's office. The information gleaned from these reports he reinforced by personal tours of observation, notebook and pencil in hand. Nothing seems to have escaped his eye. 'I hope that you will see that the whitewashing of the farm fences is kept regularly and systematically up,' he would write to a subordinate, adding characteristically, 'I wish you would report to me what plan you have for doing this.' Even during his absences from Tuskegee the school was still on his mind. Staff members would often get notes such as one written from New York in 1903: 'I hope that you will find out at once some way of lowering the alarm-

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Mathews, op. cit., p. 77.

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Spencer, op. cit., p. 116.

ing death rate among the hogs. This matter is getting entirely too serious.²⁰

Washington's ability as a public speaker deserves special mention here. This ability not only enabled him to raise funds for his school, but it also contributed greatly to his emergence as a race relations leader of national significance.

As a teenager he had been influenced by the outstanding oratorical success of Frederick Douglass.²¹ In his own speeches he is said to have had a natural tendency for informal and conversational type talks. Unlike Douglass, the emotional force in his speeches never rose to shrill fury.²² He spoke from personal experience and observation, consciously avoiding the language of books, and like Lincoln, he made effective use of homespun humor.²³

In his autobiography, Washington included a chapter which he entitled, The Success in Public Speaking. Regarding his personal thoughts on the subject of public speaking he said:

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Spencer, op. cit., p. 111.

²¹

Mathews, op. cit., pp. 50-51.

²²

Ibid.

²³

Spencer, op. cit., p. 90.

I believe that one always does himself and his audience an injustice when he speaks merely for the sake of speaking. I do not believe that one should speak unless, deep down in his heart, he feels convinced that he has a message to deliver. When one feels, from the bottom of his feet to the top of his head, that he has something to say that is going to help some individual or some cause, then let him say it; and in delivering his message I do not believe that many of the artificial rules of elocution can, under such circumstances, help him very much. Although there are certain things, such as pauses, breathing, and pitch of voice, that are very important, none of these can take the place of soul in an address. When I have an address to deliver, I like to forget all about the rules for proper use of the English language, and all about rhetoric and that sort of thing, and I like to make the audience forget all about these things, too.²⁴

Spencer comments that his only idiosyncrasy on the rostrum was an ever present pencil which he held in his hand, and this he explains as a relic of youthful attempts
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to learn forceful gestures while speaking.

III. THE ATLANTA EXPOSITION ADDRESS

In the year 1895 Booker T. Washington was suddenly acclaimed as a national leader of American Negroes. This

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Washington, op. cit., pp. 172-3.

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Spencer, loc. cit.

sudden and meteoric rise from successful Southern Negro college administrator to national prominence as a leader of his race grew out of an address he delivered at the Cotton States International Exposition on September 18, 1895 in Atlanta, Georgia.

In 1884, Washington, in a speech before the National Education Association in Madison, Wisconsin, had made his first attempt before a national audience to deal with the broad question of American race relations. This speech had been well received by both Northern and Southern whites in attendance.²⁶

(Spencer suggests that his approach to race relations in the Wisconsin speech had something to do with the 1895 invitation to speak in Atlanta.²⁷) Mathews points

out that in 1893 Washington was the first Negro to address an audience of white leaders in the South. The occasion was a meeting of the International Conference of Christian Wor-

kers in Atlanta.²⁸ Later that same year he addressed a Baptist Conference in the same city. Both speeches, which dealt with the religious work at Tuskegee and its bearing

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Spencer, op. cit., p. 91.

²⁷

Ibid.

²⁸

Mathews, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

on race relations, were warmly received.²⁹

The city of Atlanta planned to organize the Cotton Exposition in such magnitudinous fashion that the attention of America and the entire world would be captured. The aim was to dramatize what the South stood for in the world of cotton.³⁰ This was the setting into which Booker Washington was invited to give one of the opening addresses as a "representative of the Negro race."³¹

Washington's 1895 Atlanta address lucidly presents the philosophy behind the unique leadership function he performed in American race relations. For this reason a rather lengthy extract follows:

Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention of stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden...

To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white

²⁹ Ibid., p. 80.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., p. 82.

man, who is their next-door neighbour, I say: 'Cast down your buckets where you are'---cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance...No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, 'Cast down your bucket where you are'....Cast down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen.....In all things purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.....

The wisest among my race understand that agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that pro-

gress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges.....³²

The newspaper reports of Washington's Atlanta address were glowing. "The New York World correspondent described Washington as a Black Moses."³³ Clark Howell, then editor of the powerful Atlanta Constitution, said:

I do not exaggerate when I say that Professor Booker T. Washington's address yesterday was one of the most notable speeches, both as to character and as to the warmth of its reception, ever delivered to a Southern audience. The address was a revelation. The whole speech is a platform upon which blacks and whites can stand with full justice to each other.³⁴

And editorially, the Boston Transcript commented:

The speech of Booker T. Washington at the Atlanta Exposition, this week, seems to have dwarfed all the other proceedings and the Exposition itself. The sensation

³²

Washington, op. cit., pp. 153-58.

³³

Guy Johnson, "Negro Racial Movements & Leadership in the United States," Amer. Jour. of Sociol., 63:64, July, 1937.

³⁴

Washington, op. cit., p. 159.

that it has caused in the press has never been equalled.³⁵

Johnson concluded that the secret to Washington's successful appeal was embodied in the following three excerpts from his speech:

Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom....

The wisest among my race understand that agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly.....

In all things purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.³⁶

Emmett J. Scott, a Washington biographer, private secretary, confidant and friend seemed to concur with Johnson when, in reference to the last excerpt quoted above, he said:

By this statement (In all things...), with what led up to it, Booker Washington captured the allegiance of all really representative Southern whites, and by consistently adhering to this position he, in an ever-increasing degree, won and held their

³⁵
Ibid.

³⁶
Johnson, loc. cit., p. 64.

allegiance till (sic) the end.³⁷

IV. WASHINGTON AS A NATIONAL LEADER IN RACE RELATIONS

To understand the emergence of Booker T. Washington as a leader of American Negroes it seems important to sketch the social situation in which he functioned.

One of the outstanding spokesmen for the New South in the 1880's was Henry Grady who was part owner and editor of the Atlanta Constitution until his death in 1889.³⁸

Grady had long been an advocate of realignment between the North and South, and he seemed to feel that this realignment was rapidly taking place in the 1880's when he wrote:

In her industrial growth the South is daily making new friends. Every dollar of Northern money invested in the South gives us a new friend in that section.....Companies of immigrants sent down from the sturdy settlers of the North will solve the Southern problem and bring this section into full and harmonious relations with the North quicker than all the battalions that could

37

Emmett J. Scott and Lyman B. Stowe, Booker T. Washington Builder of A Civilization (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1917), p. 21.

38

Henry W. Grady, The New South (New York: Robert Bonner's Sons, 1890), p. 13.

39

be armed and martialled could do.

The growing friendliness of the North for the South seemed to be related to a growing feeling among some Northern whites that the Negro problem was for the most part a Southern problem and should therefore be worked out by the South. At any rate, Gredy, in a series of articles, letters, and speeches defined the position of the New South on the Negro question in the following way:

- (1) The races must remain separate: The races and tribes of earth are of Divine origin. Behind the laws of man and the decrees of war stands the law of God. What God hath separated let no man join together. The Indian, the Malay, the Negro, the Caucasian, these types stand as markers of God's will. Let no man tinker with the work of the almighty.⁴⁰
- (2) The South should be left alone in dealing with the Negro problem: There should be no outside interference to irritate and excite, but that the problem should be left with the two races at interest.⁴¹
- (3) The Negro must be kept out of politics: The whites should have clear and unmistakable control of public affairs. They own the property.

³⁹

Ibid., pp. 138-39.

⁴⁰

Ibid., p. 105.

⁴¹

Ibid., p. 235.

They have the intelligence. Theirs is the responsibility. For these reasons they are entitled to control.⁴²

- (4) The Negroes are satisfied: The Negroes are prospering and are contented. Malignant agitators who seek office from the government or notoriety, or bribes, inveigh against the status, and magnify the occasional disorders.⁴³
- (5) Some Negroes will collaborate in the program of the New South: The men who coming from afar off view this subject through the cold eye of speculation or see it distorted through partisan glasses, insist that, directly or indirectly, the Negro race shall be in control of the affairs of the South. We have no fears of this; already we are attaching to us the best elements of that race, and as we proceed our alliance will broaden.⁴⁴

This, then, was the influential Henry Grady's analysis in the 1880's of the position of the Negro in the New South.

Myrdal, in his study of the American Negro some fifty years after Grady's death comments on the social situation which gave rise to Booker Washington's leadership as follows:

It is a political axiom that Negroes can never, in any period, hope to attain more

⁴²

Ibid., p. 239.

⁴³

Ibid., p. 251.

⁴⁴

Ibid., pp. 103-04.

in the short-term power bargain than the most benevolent white groups are prepared to give them. This much Washington attained. With shrewd insight, Washington took exactly as much off the Negro protest--and it had to be a big reduction--as was needed in order to get the maximum cooperation from the only two white groups in America who in this era of ideological reaction cared anything at all about the Negroes: the Northern humanitarians and philanthropists and the Southern upper class school of parallel civilizations. Both of these liberal groups demanded appeasement above all. And so the Southern conservatives were actually allowed to set the conditions upon which Washington and the Southern and Northern liberals could come to terms.⁴⁵

In discussing the general character of Washington's leadership, Rudwick suggested that it was characterized by his advocacy of a system of accommodation between Negroes and whites in the New South.⁴⁶ In this same regard Spencer stated that:

His (Washington's) belief that Southern white cooperation was necessary to Negro advancement meant that his policy rested inevitably on accommodation to existing conditions and prejudices.⁴⁷

Similarly, Johnson stated that:

⁴⁵

Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 740-41.

⁴⁶

Elliott M. Rudwick, W.E.B. DuBois: A Study in Minority Group Leadership (Philadelphia: Univ. of Penn. Press, 1960), p. 60.

⁴⁷

Spencer, op. cit., p. 93.

Washington was a peacemaker. (He reassured* the white people of the South and relieved the tension which they felt on three points: political participation, education, and social relations.⁴⁸

However, Cox, in an extremely critical sociological appraisal of the Washington leadership classifies the Negro leadership of Washington as collaborationist. He says:

The collaborator is an active advocate of the purposes of the dominant group. He has to be exceedingly versed in subtleties because, although he is fundamentally antagonistic to the people's cause, he must appear to be their champion....

His (Washington's) fervid aspiration to build an educational institution comparable to that of his alma mater presented him with certain material necessities which only persons of wealth could satisfy. Thus the financing of his project and the arrangement of a financially secure life for himself provided the essential quid pro quo in his collaboration... He sought not to lead Negroes, but to divert them from their common cause.⁴⁹

Specifically, Washington's leadership, as his books, articles, and speeches vividly indicate, revolved around his continued insistence that the progress of Negroes depended upon economic accumulation and the cultivation of Christian character. In 1899 he wrote:

I believe the past and present teach but

⁴⁸

Johnson, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

⁴⁹

Oliver C. Cox, "The Leadership of Booker T. Washington," Social Forces, 30:93-95, 1951-52.

one lesson--to the Negro's friends and to the Negro himself,--that there is but one way out, that there is but one hope of solution; and that is for the Negro in every part of America to resolve from henceforth that he will throw aside every non-essential and cling only to essentials, that his pillar of fire by night and pillar of cloud by day shall be property, economy, education, and Christian character. To us just now these are the wheat, all else the chaff.⁵⁰

At the same time, Washington, in his national and regional leadership role publicly minimized the extent of race prejudice and discrimination; sought to mollify Negro grievances; accepted social segregation predicated on race; depreciated political activity for Negroes (he persisted in separating the political from the economic); favored property and educational qualifications for the franchise; and by stressing preparedness he seemed to blame Negroes themselves for their unfortunate condition.

As late as 1911 he still seemed to be minimizing race prejudice and discrimination when he wrote:

We have no race problem in Macon County (Alabama); there is no friction between the races; agriculture is improving; the County is growing in wealth.⁵¹

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Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 739-40. Taken from Booker T. Washington, The Future of the American Negro, 1899, p. 132.

51

Booker T. Washington, My Larger Education (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1911), pp. 179-80.

At Atlanta he was mollifying Negro grievances and accepting social segregation when he said:

No race can prosper till (sic) it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.....

In all things purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.⁵²

And in regard to his position on political activity for Negroes Cox quotes him as follows:

No greater injury has been done the colored people of this country than that which resulted from putting them in a position of political antagonism to their former masters.⁵³

The success of Washington's leadership among Negroes seems to be closely analogous to the success of the favorite slave leader described in Chapter III. At the height of his career he was consulted on many issues affecting the Negro, and he had considerable power to grant or withhold rewards* to Negroes in all parts of the country. From a perspective of forty years after he first opened attack on Washington, DuBois commented on his power as follows:

⁵²

Washington, Up From Slavery, pp. 155, 156.

⁵³

Cox, "Leadership Among Negroes," p. 251.

Not only did presidents of the United States consult Booker Washington, but governors and congressmen: philanthropists conferred with him, scholars wrote to him. Tuskegee became a vast information bureau and center of advice.....After a time almost no Negro institution could collect funds without the recommendation or acquiescence of Mr. Washington. Few political appointments were made anywhere in the United States without his consent. Even the careers of rising young colored men were very often determined by his advice and certainly his opposition was fatal....The control was to be drastic. The Negro intelligentsia was to be suppressed and hammered into conformity. The process involved some cruelty and disappointment, but that was inevitable. This was the real force back of the Tuskegee Machine. It had money and it had opportunity, and it found in Tuskegee tools to do its bidding....Things came to such a pass that when any Negro complained or advocated a course of action, he was silenced with the remark that Mr. Washington did not agree with this. Naturally the bumptious irritated, young black intelligentsia of the day declared, 'I don't care a damn what Booker Washington thinks. This is what I think, and I have a right to think.'⁵⁴

Myrdal seems to agree that Washington led through sheer power when he commented:

Washington was not only a national Negro leader, but actually held a virtual monopoly of national Negro leadership for several decades.⁵⁵

⁵⁴

W.E.B. DuBois, Dusk of Dawn (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1940), pp. 73-75.

⁵⁵

Myrdal, op. cit., p. 741.

And, Spencer, after examining Washington's personal correspondence conceded that "Washington unquestionably had a great deal to say about the allocation of large sums from Northern foundations and from individual philanthropists."⁵⁶ He offers the following quotes from Washington's letters:

I have kept up pretty closely with all these schools during the year (he wrote of a list he had been asked to review), and I have also looked carefully through the list of new schools that have made application to Mr. Schiff; some of them are worthy and some of them unworthy--I mean the new ones. You will notice that I have made only one or two changes as compared with last year.⁵⁷

His method of leadership through power and control extended even further. Meier has shown that he controlled large segments of the Negro press through subsidy.⁵⁸ This control almost enabled him to completely silence criticism of himself, and gave him an avenue to upbraid those Negroes who disagreed with him.⁵⁹

⁵⁶

Spencer, op. cit., p. 162.

⁵⁷

Ibid.

⁵⁸

August Meier, "Booker T. Washington and the Negro Press," Jour. of Negro History, 38:67, Jan., 1953.

⁵⁹

Ibid., pp. 67-90.

In another article the same author has offered additional insight into the Washington leadership methodology. First, Meier suggests that although Washington was overtly minimizing the importance of political and civil rights, covertly he was deeply involved in political affairs and in efforts to prevent disfranchisement and other forms of discrimination.⁶⁰ Through a seemingly thorough examination of the Washington papers, Meier has shown how Washington secretly enlisted lobbying support to defeat discriminatory legislation in the North, while in the South he was just as secretly (if not more so) engaged in efforts to invalidate Southern disfranchisement of Negroes and segregation laws.⁶¹

Additionally, the Washington papers seem to show that Washington was actively engaged in politics, although he admonished other Negroes not to become so involved. Meier shows, through the Washington correspondence, that "he was engaged in patronage distribution under Roosevelt and Taft, and Roosevelt consulted him on almost all matters pertain-

60

(August Meier, "Toward A Reinterpretation of Booker T. Washington," Jour. of Southern History, 23:221, May, 1957.)

61

Ibid., pp. 221-22.

ing to the Negro."⁶² *

It is of further interest to note that in light of his public acceptance of separate but equal transportation accommodations for Negroes, he surreptitiously engaged in efforts against railroad segregation.⁶³ Again, his correspondence shows that he worked against the state of Tennessee's prohibiting pullman space to Negroes.⁶⁴

Meier concludes as follows:

It is clear, then, that in spite of his placatory tone and his outward emphasis upon economic development as the solution to the race problem, Washington was surreptitiously engaged in undermining the American race system by a direct attack upon disfranchisement and segregation; that in spite of his strictures against political activity, he was a powerful politician in his own right. The picture that emerges from Washington's own correspondence is distinctly at variance with the ingratiating mask he presented to the world.⁶⁵

As Washington's influence among whites increased and his national prestige began to grow accordingly, opposition, among Negroes began to rise. Some of this opposition, as

⁶²
Ibid., pp. 222-23.

⁶³
Ibid., p. 226.

⁶⁴
Ibid.

⁶⁵
Ibid., pp. 226-27.

Franklin has indicated, was based on envy; but a small group of Negro intellectuals took serious exception to the Washington philosophy and leadership methods. Outstanding among the "loyal opposition" and later its undisputed leader was young William E.B. DuBois of Massachusetts.

CHAPTER VI

WILLIAM E. B. DUBOIS

In Chapter V the background and leadership of Booker Washington was examined in some detail. The present chapter undertakes a similar treatment of William DuBois.

It is probably true that Booker Washington had more power and prestige than any other American Negro leader of national significance; and it is probably equally true that William DuBois was one of the most respected Negro leaders of national importance. Power and respect in these two instances are undoubtedly related to the differing types of leadership the two men manifested during their respective days of eminence. These distinct leadership types evolve through the materials presented in Chapters V and VI. In Chapter VII, the concluding section of this work, Washington and DuBois are classified and appraised as leaders.

As was the case with Washington, no attempt is made either to condemn or to praise the man DuBois, but rather to gain insight into the leadership function he performed until 1920.

I. BACKGROUND

A mulatto from a long line of free people of Negro,

French Huguenot, and Dutch ancestry, William DuBois was born in the little town of Great Barrington in western Massachusetts on February 23, 1868.¹ The population of Great Barrington was around five thousand, with no more than fifty of this number Negroes, and young William's extended family was proud of its reputation as being among the oldest inhabitants of the Housatonic Valley in which Great Barrington was located. As a child, DuBois later recalled, his immediate family consisted of his mother and maternal grandparents. His father died while William was still an infant.²

While some members of his extended family had acquired property in the area, the economic status of his widowed mother was quite low. Her income was dependent upon infrequent work; cooking for her brother; and some occasional assistance from other members of her family. Until the time he entered high school DuBois' ideas regarding his mother's economic status were vague. A great deal later in life he observed:

I can see now that my mother must have struggled pretty desperately on very narrow re-

¹ Francis L. Broderick, W.E.B. DuBois (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 1.

² W.E.B. DuBois, Dusk of Dawn (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1940), pp. 10-11.

sources and that the problem of shoes and clothes for me must have been at times staggering. But these matters seldom bothered me because they were not brought to my attention.³

William's boyhood seemed to be lively and enjoyable. He speaks of Great Barrington as a boy's paradise, and indicates that his earlier contacts with playmates and adults were normal and pleasant, unfettered by the painful hurts of racism.⁴ He recalls that in the ordinary religious and social affairs of the town---the Congregational Church; Sunday school picnics and festivals; skating on the temporary rink in the town hall; and group coasting on Great Barrington's snow covered hills in winter---he took part with no thought of racial discrimination.⁵

Later, he felt, he was protected against discrimination by his own sensitive, withdrawn nature and the fact that there was little social activity in the high school. In fact, he suggests that whatever racial feeling did exist at this time did not affect him negatively. He comments:

They were the losers who did not ardently court me and not I, which seemed to be

³
Ibid., pp. 17-18.

⁴
Ibid., p. 13.

⁵
Ibid., p. 14.

proven by the fact that I had no difficulty in outdoing them in nearly all competition, especially intellectual. In athletics I was not outstanding. I was only moderately good at baseball and football; but at running, exploring, story-telling and planning of intricate games, I was often if not always the leader. This made discrimination all the more difficult.⁶

The town of Great Barrington, as DuBois recalled, thought of itself as helping to put down a wicked rebellion and freeing four million slaves. Most of the town's men, including members of his own family, had been soldiers during the Civil War.⁷

All of the so called respectable people belonged to the Republican Party, but Democrats were tolerated, although regarded with surprise and suspicion. In politics Great Barrington approached a pure democracy with annual town meetings and elections of well known and fairly qualified officials.⁸

The town's well-to-do people usually belonged to the Episcopal and Congregational Churches; a small number of farmers and artisans to the Methodist Church; and the Irish workers to the Catholic Church across the river. DuBois'

⁶

Ibid., pp. 14-15.

⁷

Ibid., p. 17.

⁸

Ibid.

grandmother was Episcopalian and his mother Congregation-
alist. He spent most of his religious time in the Congre-
gational Church. According to his own recollection his
family was placidly religious.⁹

The austere and aloof New England attitude has been
a part of his own personality throughout his lifetime. It
was in this regard that he stated:

I had the social heritage not only of a New
England clan but Dutch taciturnity. This
was later reinforced and strengthened by
inner withdrawals in the face of real and
imagined discriminations. The result was
that I was early thrown in upon myself.
I found it difficult and even unnecessary
to approach other people and by that same
token my own inner life perhaps grew the
richer; but the habit of repression often
returned to plague me in after years, for
so early a habit could not easily be un-
learned. The Negroes in the South, when
I came to know them, could never under-
stand why I did not naturally greet every-
one I passed on the street or slap my
friends on the back.¹⁰

Education

DuBois' family had a history of school attendance
which dated back several generations, and he remembers most
of them as being able to read and write. The family had im-
pressed upon him the importance of regular school attendance.

⁹

Ibid., pp. 10, 17.

¹⁰

Ibid., p. 19.

In addition, the schools of Great Barrington were near at hand and available to him, and further, the town's truant laws were strictly enforced. As a result young William enrolled in one school at the age of five or six and continued his attendance there until he graduated from high school at sixteen.¹¹ Years later he recalled that, "I was seldom absent or tardy, and the school ran regularly ten months¹² in the year with a few vacations."

His high school principal, Frank Hosmer, had matter-of-factly suggested that DuBois take the college preparatory course. This course consisted of four years of Latin and three of Greek; arithmetic, algebra, and geometry in three of the four years; one year of ancient and American history; one year of English; and isolated instruction in geography, physiology and hygiene. He completed this high school course with high honors, along with extra-curricular distinctions such as the presidency of the high school debating society.¹³ Years later DuBois was to wonder what would have been his fate if Hosmer had been another sort

¹¹
Ibid., p. 12.

¹²
Ibid.

¹³
Broderick, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

of man, "with definite ideas as to a Negro's place."¹⁴

While young William had no difficulty with his course work, the purchase of high school texts was an economic impossibility for his family; so his mother appealed to a neighborhood friend who generously provided the necessary texts.

In 1885, through the efforts of Reverend C.C. Painter, a former Federal Indian Agent, DuBois was offered a scholarship to attend Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. The funds were provided by four Connecticut churches which Reverend Painter had formerly pastored. So in the fall of 1885 the seventeen year old William DuBois entered Fisk University as a sophomore---the quality of his work in Great Barrington enabled him to skip the freshman year. Some years later he was to recall this his first exposure to the South in the following way:

I was tossed boldly into the "Negro Problem". From a section and circumstances where the status of me and my folk could be rationalized as the result of poverty and limited training, and settled essentially by schooling and hard effort, I suddenly came to a region where the world was split into white and black halves, and where the darker half was held back by race prejudice and legal bonds, as

well as by deep ignorance and dire poverty.¹⁵

Once in the South, however, he seemed to identify himself with the plight of the Negro race. From his classmates he gained insight into the meaning of growing up as a Negro in the South, and through his own sensitivity, which was deepened by what he saw and experienced, he began to see himself and his fellow students as leaders of the impoverished and oppressed black millions. In a speech he told his Fisk classmates:

Ye destined leaders of a noble people: I am a Negro; and I glory in the name! I am proud of the black blood that flows in my veins. From all the recollections dear to my boyhood have I come here, not to pose as a critic but to join hands with this, my people.¹⁶

In his first year at Fisk University, he studied the Illiad, the Odyssey, and the Greek Testament; conic sections and the calculus; rhetoric; French grammar and literature; and botany. In the junior year, he read Livy and Tacitus along with Demosthenes' Oration on the Crown and Sophocles' Antigone, studied German grammar and translations, and found time for physiology, hygiene, and astronomy. Finally in

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W.E.B. DuBois, "My Evolving Program for Negro Freedom," Rayford W. Logan, editor, What the Negro Wants (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1944), p. 36.

16

Broderick, op. cit., p. 8.

his senior year, he and six classmates studied mental sciences (sic), using John Bascom's Science of Mind and James McCosh's Laws of Discursive Thought. Ethics, political economy, English literature, and a laboratory course in chemistry completed his schedule.¹⁷

At the conclusion of his three years at Fisk, DuBois looked north to Harvard and the fulfillment of an early ambition to study at that great institution. After receiving outstanding recommendations from his Fisk instructors and the University's President, Erastus Cravath, Harvard offered DuBois a three hundred dollar Price Greenleaf scholarship. He enrolled as a junior in the fall of 1888.¹⁸

His years at Fisk had left DuBois with a deep set feeling of the "absolute division of the universe into black and white."¹⁹ He seemed, therefore, to want little more from Harvard than the tutelage of its teachers and the freedom of its library. He said, "I was quite voluntarily and willingly outside its social life."²⁰

¹⁷
Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁸
DuBois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 32.

¹⁹
Broderick, op. cit., p. 13.

²⁰
DuBois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 35.

His first year courses at Harvard included English composition, economics, chemistry and geology. In his second year he studied logic and psychology under William James; French and German philosophy under George Santayana; F.G. Peabody's ethics of social reform; and Albert Bushnell Hart's Constitutional and Political History of the United States from 1783 to 1861. To these he added the senior composition course; a semester course in elocution; and an economic survey of bimetallism.²¹

William James counselled DuBois away from a career in philosophy, and heeding this advice he began to plan his future in history, economics and social problems. (Perhaps, also, the two B's he received from James and Santayana compared to the A plus from Hart influenced this decision.) At any rate when he applied for a graduate fellowship in 1890, he had decided to pursue the Ph.D. in social science, with a view toward applying its principles to the social and economic uplift of Negroes. He was awarded the four hundred and fifty dollar Rogers fellowship for the study of ethics in relation to jurisprudence or sociology.²²

At the end of the first year of a two year graduate

²¹

Broderick, op. cit., p. 15.

²²

Ibid., p. 16.

residency at Harvard he received the Master of Arts degree. Several years later his Ph.D. thesis, "The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870", was published as the first volume in the Harvard Historical Studies.²³

Although DuBois sometimes encountered the color bar on the few occasions he voluntarily sought admission to extra-curricular activities at Harvard---he was rejected for membership in the Glee Club, and later the Graduate Club---his relations with the faculty were exceedingly positive. Albert B. Hart not only guided his work, but helped him obtain his two Harvard graduate fellowships, and probably arranged for his appearance before the American Historical Association. William James, whom DuBois acknowledged as "my friend and guide to clear thinking," often invited him to his home.²⁴ In addition, George Santayana read Kant privately with DuBois, and President Charles W. Eliot invited him to visit on specified evenings.²⁵

After his two years of graduate residency at Harvard,

²³

Ibid., p. 17.

²⁴

DuBois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 38.

²⁵

Broderick, op. cit., p. 24.

DuBois went abroad on a grant from the Slater Fund and continued his studies for two additional years at the University of Berlin.

During his stay in Europe he traveled in England, France, Italy, and Germany and for the first time since his pre-high school days in Great Barrington he was released from his consuming preoccupation with race and color. Of this period he wrote:

From the physical provincialism of America and the psychical provincialism of my rather narrow race problem into which I was born and which seems to me the essence of life, I was transplanted and startled into a realization of the real centers of modern civilization and into at least momentary escape from my own social problems and also into an introduction to new cultural patterns.²⁶

His work at the University of Berlin included a course in politics under Treitschke; Rudolph von Gneist's Prussian State Reform; theoretical political economy and industrialism and society under Adolph Wagner; and Gustav Schmoller's Prussian Constitutional History. He was also²⁷ admitted to one of Schmoller's seminars.

As a result of friendly contacts with Schmoller, DuBois' conviction that intellectuals were above color pre-

²⁶

Ibid., p. 26.

²⁷

Ibid., p. 27.

judice was reinforced. Further, Schmoller, who had an outstanding reputation in German economic thought, drew DuBois away from history into a type of political economy which could easily be converted into sociology. Still further, Schmoller encouraged him to devote himself to a career of scholarship.
28

On February 23, his twenty-fifth birthday, DuBois surveyed his educational accomplishments and began to look forward to a career. On that day he dedicated his library to his mother, who had died after proudly seeing her son graduate from high school. He then wrote at length in his diary as follows:

I am glad I am living, I rejoice as a strong man to run a race, and I am strong--is it egotism, is it assurance--or is it the silent call of the world spirit that makes me feel that I am royal and that beneath my sceptre a world of kings shall bow? The hot dark blood of that black forefather born king of men--is beating at my heart, and I know that I am either a genius or a fool...This I do know: be the Truth what it may I will seek it on the pure assumption that it is worth seeking--and Heaven nor Hell, God nor Devil shall turn me from my purpose till I die. I will in this second quarter century of my life, enter the dark forest of the unknown world for which I have so many years served my apprenticeship--the chart and compass the world furnishes me I have little faith in--yet, I have none better--I will seek till (sic) I find--and die. There is grandeur in the very hopelessness of such a

life--life? And is life all? If I strive shall I strive to live again? I do not know and in spite of the wild sehnsucht for Eternity that makes my heart sick now and then---I grit my teeth and say I do not care. Carpe Diem! What is life but life, after all? Its end is its greatest and fullest self--this end is the Good. The Beautiful its attribute--its soul, and Truth is its being. Not three commensurate things are these, the three dimensions of the cube--mayhap God is founder, but for that very reason incomprehensible. The greatest and fullest life is by definition beautiful, beautiful---beautiful as a dark passionate woman, beautiful as a golden hearted school girl, beautiful as a grey haired hero. That is the dimension of breadth. Then comes Truth--what is, cold and indisputable: That is height. Now I will, so help my Soul, multiply breadth by height, Beauty by Truth and then Goodness, strength, shall bind them together into a solid whole. Wherefore? I know not now. Perhaps infinite other dimensions do. This is a wretched disguise and yet it represents my attitude toward the world. I am striving to make my life all that life may be--and I am limiting that strife only in so far as that strife is incompatible with others of my brothers and sisters making their lives similar. The crucial question now is where this limit comes..... God knows I am sorely puzzled. I am firmly convinced that my own best development is not one and the same with the best development of the world and here I am willing to sacrifice. The sacrifice is working for the multiplication of Truth X Beauty and now here comes the question how. The general proposition of working for the world's good becomes too soon sickly sentimentality. I therefore take the work that the Unknown lays in my hands & work for the rise of the Negro people, taking for granted that their best development means the best development of the world...

These are my plans: to make a name in science, to make a name in literature and thus to raise my race. Or perhaps to raise a visible empire in Africa thro' England, France, or Germany.

I wonder what will be the outcome? Who knows?²⁹

This rather pompous, but extremely sensitive piece of writing clearly reveals the duty DuBois, near the conclusion of his education, saw as his own---to lead the Negro people to a new and higher level of existence through science. ✓

He returned from Germany in the summer of 1894, one year before Harvard awarded him the Ph.D., and began the search for a job. He received three teaching offers. He accepted the first, the teaching of classics at Wilberforce University in Xenia, Ohio. It is of interest to note that one of the two later opportunities DuBois received that summer was a mathematics position offered by Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee Institute.

II. THE SCHOLAR

At Wilberforce University DuBois taught Latin, Greek, English and German. He introduced the latter subject into

the curriculum, and would have added sociology if the college authorities had permitted. After two years, however, the University's traditional religious emphasis had become too much for him to bear. He resigned to accept a fifteen month appointment as an assistant instructor in sociology at the University of Pennsylvania where he was to prepare a study of the Negro community of Philadelphia.

Truman Nelson refers to his Philadelphia studies as,

monumental studies of Negro morality, urbanization, efforts for social betterment, of the Negro in business, in college, in grade school, in church, at work, in crime: 2,172 pages of scholarly fact and opinion.³⁰

And Broderick, in a highly critical appraisal of DuBois' many scholarly works, ranks The Philadelphia Negro as the best.³¹

In 1897 W.E.B. DuBois was hired by Atlanta University to supervise the sociology program and to direct a series of investigations on the problems of urban Negroes. President Horace Bumstead of Atlanta had inaugurated these annual investigations only a short time prior to DuBois' arrival on campus.

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Truman Nelson, "W.E.B. DuBois: Prophet in Limbo," The Nation, Vol. 168 (Jan. 25, 1958), p. 76.

³¹

Broderick, op. cit., p. 288.

Under DuBois' leadership this research became more encompassing and was conducted during the whole year. His association with the program continued until 1914, and during this affiliation he supervised the preparation of sixteen monographs.³²

In commenting on the scientific nature of these investigations, Rudwick points out that DuBois did not pay particular attention to sampling procedures; "either in the selection of his cities or in the data to be found within them."³³ Neither did he provide a method for checking the reliability or validity of the material sent to him, and this omission was "serious since the officers of orphanages, for example, were asked to furnish statistics on their own administrations of the institutions."³⁴ Rudwick sets forth his analysis of the Atlanta investigations with the following statement:

If DuBois must be held to his early goal of science, i.e., the ability to measure the extent of prejudice in causing the Negro problem, as differentiated from the Negroes' own cultural shortcomings, his contributions are small. However, other Ameri-

³² Rudwick, op. cit., p. 41.

³³ Ibid., p. 44.

³⁴ Ibid.

can social scientists were hardly more successful in understanding race prejudice. Actually, DuBois' Atlanta studies represent his efforts to introduce systematic induction into the field of race relations when other men were speculating about Negroes.³⁵

Many of the generalizations which emanated from DuBois' Atlanta studies were diametrically opposed to the common sense views of the day. For example, a position generally held was that Negroes were lynched because of well founded accusations of rape. In this regard DuBois reported that in less than one quarter of a long series of lynchings had the victims been charged with sexual assault.³⁶ He also demonstrated, through comparative statistics, that the Southern Negro child received an inferior education when the indices of length of school term, amount of school appropriations, teachers salaries, and school property values were analyzed. In addition, he quoted liberally from the works of the anthropologist, Franz Boas, in an attempt to repudiate the widely held view of Africa as a vast cultural cipher.³⁷

It should be noted that, although DuBois indicated

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Rudwick, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

³⁶

Ibid., p. 50.

³⁷

Ibid.

that the purpose of the Atlanta studies was primarily scientific, he also admitted his efforts were meant to encourage and help social reform. It, therefore, seems sound to assume that the attention given to the latter aim probably detracted from the former. —

Since reviews of these studies appeared in important magazines and metropolitan newspapers, it is probably safe to surmise that some white people were affected on at least two levels. First, some white citizens probably became aware, for the first time, that one Negro institution of higher education was engaged in serious and sophisticated intellectual activity. Secondly, some of those persons who read the reviews may have concluded that the living conditions of Negroes were badly in need of improvement.

It is difficult to speculate as to the affect of the Atlanta studies on those Negroes who were familiar with them. It is in this regard that Rudwick offers the following statement:

At a time when political and social restrictions upon the American Negroes were increasing, the Atlanta monographs must have provided many members of the race with a sense of group pride and ego satisfaction.³⁸

Reflecting on his experiences and contributions,

DuBois, in 1920, was to characterize his teaching and research at Atlanta as "my real life work."³⁹

III. THE NATIONAL LEADER

On the national Negro leadership scene small rumblings of discontent could be heard immediately following Booker T. Washington's famous Atlanta Exposition speech, which his critics dubbed the "Atlanta Compromise."⁴⁰ This opposition became vocal in 1901 when two Negro intellectuals, Monroe Trotter and George Forbes, began publishing the Boston Guardian. The moving spirit was Trotter, a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Harvard, and his demand was full equality for Negroes immediately. By 1902 the lines of battle were becoming clearly drawn, and Trotter was demanding, through the pages of the Guardian, that individual Negroes should either support the Washingtonians or the Radicals.⁴¹

According to Kelly Miller, a Negro educator of the time, Trotter was sensitive to the charges of the Washington group that his position was visionary, so he became deter-

³⁹
W.E.B. DuBois, Darkwater (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1920), p. 20.

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Spencer, op. cit., p. 87.

⁴¹
Ibid., pp. 140-41.

mined to set up an organization which could engage in social action projects. Further, Trotter was interested in a man with showy faculties who could stand before the people as a leader of his cause. His attention turned to W.E.B. DuBois, the brilliant scholar and writer, who up to that time had had a polite, if not especially warm, relationship with Booker T. Washington.

~~However, by 1902, DuBois was becoming disenchanted with Washington's methods and platform, still he refused to be actively and publicly anti-Washington. This position was predicated not only on the fact that he didn't disagree with the Tuskegeean's self-help themes, "but also because he believed that as a social scientist he should be removed from the tumult of a leadership struggle."~~⁴² Nevertheless, in 1903 DuBois published The Souls of Black Folk, and gave literary form to a philosophy antagonistic to Washington's.

The Souls of Black Folk was described by James Weldon Johnson, an early executive of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as having "a greater effect upon and within the Negro race in America than any other⁴³ single book published in this country since Uncle Tom's Cabin."

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Rudwick, op. cit., pp. 66-67

⁴³

Ibid., p. 68.

In a Chapter of this volume entitled "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others" DuBois wrote the following:

Easily the most striking thing in the history of the American Negro since 1876 is the ascendancy of Mr. Booker T. Washington...

But Booker T. Washington arose as essentially the leader not of one race but of two--a compromiser between the South, the North, and the Negro. Naturally the Negroes resented, at first bitterly, signs of compromise which surrendered their civil and political rights, even though this was to be exchanged for larger chances of economic development.....

Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission; but adjustment at such a peculiar time as to make his program unique....

The black men of America have a duty to perform, a duty stern and delicate,--a forward movement to oppose a part of the work of their greatest leader. So far as Mr. Washington preaches Thrift, Patience and Industrial Training for the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him, rejoicing in his honors and glorying in the strength of this Joshua called of God and of man to lead the headless host. But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North and South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles the emasculating effects of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds,--so far as he, the South, or the Nation, does this,--we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them. By every civilized and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, lib-

erty and the pursuit of happiness."⁴⁴

The Souls of Black Folk was not only enthusiastically received by Negroes, but it received highly favorable comments from many white critics. It went into twenty-eight editions and was translated abroad. Broderick appraised it as follows:

In its judicious fairness, skillful writing, and resourceful adaption of scholarly material to a popular audience, it is DuBois' best statement of the Negro's case to white America, and despite a looseness of imagery which clouds meaning ("rolling hills lie like passioned women wanton with harvest"), it is a minor American classic.⁴⁵

In the summer of 1905 twenty-nine Negro intellectuals, headed by DuBois, met at Niagara Falls. Their plan was to form a national protest organization with branches in several states to wage a battle against all forms of segregation and discrimination. The Niagara Movement was the first national organization of Negroes which aggressively and unconditionally demanded the same civil rights for their people which other Americans enjoyed. One of the Movement's resolutions, written by DuBois, read:

We shall not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We

⁴⁴ W.E.B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk (Chicago: Alfred C. McClurg, 1903), pp. 41-59.

⁴⁵ Broderick, op. cit., p. 46.

claim for ourselves every right that belongs to a free born American; political, civil, and social; and until we get these rights, we shall never cease to protest and assail the ears of America.⁴⁶

However, according to Myrdal,

it (Niagara Movement) never grew into anything more than a feeble junto. It had against it Booker T. Washington and all his Negro and white friends, and it was not discreet for ambitious young Negroes to belong to this Movement.⁴⁷

And in this same connection, Rudwick comments:

Booker T. Washington did not relent in his efforts to destroy the Niagara Movement, even though it was apparent the organization was on the verge of expiring..... The Tuskegeean concluded (in 1908) the group was practically dead and asked the New York Age to publish an obituary which he prepared.⁴⁸

DuBois himself admitted that the organization had not accomplished much and he correctly emphasized that Washington's obstruction had been fatal.

The organization did, however, bring into open conflict and wide public debate two types of Negro strategy; one stressing accommodation and the other protest. Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois became national symbols of

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DuBois, Dusk of Dawn, p. 90.

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Myrdal, op. cit., p. 742.

⁴⁸

Rudwick, op. cit., p. 116.

these two main streams of Negro thought.

In 1909, following closely on the heels of the defunct Niagara Movement, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded in New York City. Of the five original incorporators, Mary White Ovington, Oswald Garrison Villard, Walter E. Sachs, John H. Holmes, and W.E.B. DuBois, only DuBois was colored.⁴⁹ DuBois, by choice, became the editor of the new organization's official organ, The Crisis, and Director of Research.

During the decade from 1910 to 1920 the balance of power among Negro leaders shifted from the conservatives (Washington) to the radicals (DuBois), and as the most articulate radical DuBois stood at the top of the heap. When Washington died in 1915 DuBois' power increased even further. Another significant factor in this shift of power was the sociological reality that Negroes were changing from rural to urban dwellers at an ever increasing pace. In addition, the migratory trend to the North was also taking root.

Analyzing DuBois' growing power as a national leader between 1910 and 1920 it seems fairly obvious that The Crisis and the NAACP provided him with the springboard he needed for success. Among Negroes he became the symbol of the As-

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Cox, "Leadership Among Negroes," p. 240.

sociation and its work.⁵⁰ Local branches all over the country identified the work of the Association with W.E.B. DuBois. In seven months ending April, 1911, he reached 21,000 people⁵¹ in fifty-eight lectures.

The mounting circulation of The Crisis was undoubtedly due to his influence, and with each gain he set his goals higher:

In April 1911, his 10,000 subscribers made him anxious for 25,000; a year later he had reached 22,000 and another three years later 35,000. In 1919, when the Association had seventy thousand members from thirty four states, the Crisis reached its pinnacle of 104,000 subscribers.⁵²

By the end of the decade his position was recognized by whites as well as Negroes. Broderick states:

His pen was feared, and even quoted in the Congressional Record. The New York Sun called him the leading factor on the race question, Current Opinion his death, and Cur the principal N. A. he was regarded as the principal Negro spokesman in America.⁵³

In 1920, then, William DuBois had reached the height

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Broderick, op. cit., p. 116.

⁵¹

Ibid.

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Ibid.

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Ibid., p. 120.

of his leadership career, exercising the influence which made him worthy of being ranked with Douglass and Washington.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

It should be remembered that the classification of leaders by a set of ideal types is inevitably a relative process. Relative in the sense that it is probably axiomatic that in the course of a given leader's career he will exhibit behavior which is peculiar to more than one leadership type. However, the material in this study tends to suggest that Washington and DuBois, for the most part, manifested certain specific leadership patterns. In other words, as a result of personal inclinations and external circumstances these two men expended the bulk of their leadership energies in certain directions, and on this basis they may be fitted into certain leadership types.

In Chapter II three general leadership types were described: intellectual, social, and executive. It is here assumed that any leader, on the basis of personal inclination, will generally fit into one of these three categories. This is not to say that the intellectually inclined leader, for example, would not at times manifest social and or executive characteristics, but rather his leadership would be characterized as generally intellectual.

It must be reiterated, however, that these three general leadership types do not, when taken alone, adequately

describe the Washington and DuBois leadership roles. This is because they lack a socio-cultural, or more precisely, a socio-racial dimension which must be considered in describing any American Negro leader. The socio-racial, or racial leadership in a given social context, is the basis for the Negro leadership typology of Chapter IV. The intellectual, social, and executive types, then, become functional to this study only when they are supplemented by the Negro types described in Chapter IV.

Throughout his career Booker T. Washington displayed the skillful oratorical ability of the successful social leader. However, the evidence in this study, to an overwhelming degree, seems to establish Washington as primarily an executive type leader in relation to the Negro race.

Shortly after the turn of the century the most distinguishing characteristic of Washington's leadership was power. He had the power to withhold or grant rewards to Negroes in all parts of the country. Presidents Roosevelt and Taft consulted him on job appointments as well as most other things pertaining to the Negro race; governors and congressmen also sought his advice and guidance on race questions; major Northern foundations and individual philanthropists contributed to Negro institutions and projects only if Booker Washington deemed the applicants worthy; and his control by subsidy of large segments of the Negro press enabled him, to some ex-

tent, to stifle his opposition, and propagandize Tuskegee and his own approach to race relations.

Although power was the dominant theme in the Booker Washington leadership complex, other factors lend support to the executive casting. When he arrived on the national leadership scene he had been the successful administrator of his beloved Tuskegee Institute for over ten years. He was by profession, then, an executive, and a seemingly authoritarian one at that. Furthermore, he seemed to have a strong proclivity for orderliness, and an immense appetite for detail; qualities which are certainly significant and perhaps crucial to the executive leadership construct of the study.

W.E.B. DuBois functioned periodically as an executive leader type also. Through his initiation, organization, and guidance of the Niagara Movement he manifested executive leadership tendencies. But just as Washington was not primarily a social leader neither was DuBois primarily an executive leader. Throughout the period under analysis William DuBois' leadership orientation was intellectual. Even during the unsuccessful Niagara venture his intellectual inclination was evident. Rudwick observed:

In actuality, he was the College Professor of Niagara--giving lectures here, writing papers there, and expecting all the while that his "students" would carry his ideas far and wide.¹

¹ Rudwick, op. cit., p. 119.

It has been pointed out that Washington's administrative role at Tuskegee prepared, indeed conditioned him for the executive role he was to occupy as a national leader. It seems no less accurate to assume that the intensive and extended higher academic grounding which DuBois acquired thoroughly prepared and conditioned him for the intellectual leadership he was later to manifest.

DuBois emerged as a national leader not as the result of a carefully constructed plan for the solution of the race problem, as was the case with Washington, but rather as the result of a poetically lyrical piece of literature, entitled The Souls of Black Folk. Later, he refused to become the executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. in favor of editing the Association's official organ, The Crisis. And it was through the pages of The Crisis that he became the Association's most influential spokesman. All during his leadership career, then, he was primarily a leader of ideas and a mobilizer of public opinion---an intellectual leader. It is interesting to note in passing that it was in this fashion that he characterized his own leadership function:

My leadership was a leadership solely of ideas. I never was, nor ever will be, personally popular. This was not simply because of my idiosyncrasies, but because I despise the essential demagoguery of personal leadership; of that hypnotic ascendancy over men which carries out objectives regardless of their value or validity simply by personal loyalty and admiration. In my case I withdrew sometimes os-

tentatiously from the personal nexus, but I sought all the more determinedly to force home essential ideas.²

The Negro leadership typology of Chapter IV constitutes a summary of the major methods which American Negro leaders have employed in their efforts to eliminate racial discrimination and thereby ^{得る} secure equality of opportunity for Negroes within American society. This set of leadership patterns has a certain quality of uniqueness in that all four types are the products of the system of Negro-White relations in America. The protest, accommodationist, compromise, and nationalist types ^{精巧に作り上げ} elaborated upon in Chapter IV ^{進化させ} evolved out of the historical frame of reference set forth in Chapter III.

The Negro leadership of Booker T. Washington, in relation to the social milieu of white America, was predominantly accommodationist. ^{環境} It has been shown that most of the power which enabled Washington to function as an executive leader in relation to Negroes was derived from whites who could accept his race relations program. ✓

The factor which assumes paramount importance in the classification of Washington as an accommodationist was his strong belief that Negro progress was dependent upon Negro spokesmen not antagonizing leading whites in either the ✓

South or the North. This belief made it impossible for him to see outspoken protest as a means toward the solution of the race problem. In one of the most frequently quoted statements from his Atlanta Exposition Address, Washington said:

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing.³

Another crucial characteristic of the accommodationist leader is his public acceptance of the caste system. In this regard Washington stated:

In the South it is not the custom for colored and white people to be entertained at the same hotel; it is not the custom for black and white children to attend the same school. In most parts of the North a different custom prevails. I have never stopped to question or quarrel with the customs of the people in the part of the country in which I found myself.⁴

It must be acknowledged, however, in classifying Booker Washington as a Negro leader that he did on occasion resort to the use of protest techniques, but these were occasional rather than consistent outbursts, and they were invariably carried out in secret. On the whole, then, the Negro leader-

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Washington, Up From Slavery, p. 157.

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Scott and Stowe, Booker T. Washington Builder of a Civilization, pp. 124-25.

ship of Booker T. Washington must be classified as accommodating.

The distinguishing characteristic of the Negro protest leader is his stubborn, unequivocal demand that Negroes, in all sections of the country, be accorded the same rights and privileges enjoyed by other Americans. Further, he demands that the Negro be granted these rights and privileges immediately. Since William DuBois echoed and re-echoed this demand, it seems most logical that he should be classified as a Negro protest leader.

The Niagara Movement arose as a reaction to the accommodating leadership tendencies of Booker T. Washington, and W.E.B. DuBois was its chief architect. Niagara was thoroughly protest in orientation as the following organizational principles, written by DuBois, indicate:

1. Freedom of speech and criticism.
2. Unfettered and unsubsidized press.
3. Manhood suffrage.
4. The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color.
5. The recognition of the principles of human brotherhood as a practical present creed.
6. The recognition of the highest and best human training as the monopoly of no class or race.
7. A belief in the dignity of labor.
8. United effort to realize these ideals under wise and courageous leadership.⁵

Then, following the organizational failure of the Niagara Movement, DuBois continued his protest leadership through the pages of The Crisis. When he resigned from the N.A.A.C.P. that organization commented on the leadership he had given for so many years in the following fashion:

He transformed the Negro world, created what had never existed before, a Negro intelligentsia. He gave a new orientation to the relationship of the black and white races. Without him the Association would never have been what it was and is....⁶

It should be noted that while DuBois was consistently a protest leader until 1920, he did manifest compromise tendencies during World War I, and even overtones of nationalism in the 1930's. Throughout his long career, however, he was predominately a Negro protest leader.

On the basis of the material presented in this study, the leadership of Booker T. Washington is classified as executive--accommodationist, and that of William E.B. DuBois as intellectual--protest.

In conclusion, then, it can be said of Washington that he made definite contributions to the progress of Negroes through his consistent insistence on thrift, (property ownership, industrial training, and patience.) Washington took as much off the Negro protest as he thought necessary to insure

some Negro progress at a time when the country was little concerned with Negro rights. To conclude that his ^{以上} contributions to Negro progress were outweighed by his de-emphasis ^{不強調} of Negro political and social rights would be beyond the ^{～を越えて} competency of this ^{特有の} particular study.

William DuBois' leadership contributions were perhaps less tangible ^{明白} than those of Washington, but no less important. His ^{予自決的でない} consistent demand for equal rights for Negroes was undoubtedly his most ^{重要な} significant contribution to Negro progress in America. This demand had the effect of turning ^{ハッパ} Negro opinion away from the ^{受理} acceptance of anything less than full equality of opportunity. His second major achievement lies in his service to Negro morale. (When Washington was emphasizing industrial education for Negroes, DuBois held high the ideal of a ^{たくはん} liberal education.) Through the example of his own educational ^{成果} accomplishment, and through his constant exhortations ^{熱心な勧め} in favor of liberal education he became an inspiration to younger Negroes.

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